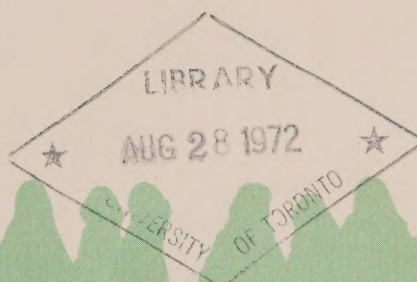


citizen involvement

a working paper
prepared for the
Committee on
Government
Productivity

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CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT

*A Working Paper Prepared for the
Committee on Government Productivity*

April, 1972



Foreword

Throughout its study, the Committee on Government Productivity has attempted to identify for the Ontario Government the challenges in the decade ahead and has suggested ways to meet them.

This document is a working paper about one of these challenges — the involvement of citizens in public decision making. It was prepared by members of the C.O.G.P. central staff assisted by many interested and knowledgeable individuals within the Ontario Public Service and from the outside community. At the same time, it does not necessarily represent the viewpoints of the Committee itself and no recommendations from its observations will be made at this time.

In publishing this paper on citizen involvement, the C.O.G.P. feels, nevertheless, that it will be a useful vehicle for developing debate and discussion on this important topic. Hopefully from such a debate and discussion, will come some clarification of what should be the appropriate responses and adaptations by government in the years immediately ahead of us.

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to read "John B. Cronyn". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

John B. Cronyn.



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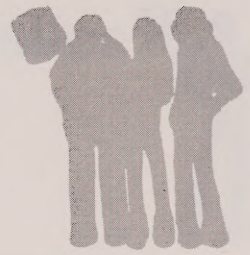
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Table of Contents



| | |
|---|----|
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| SECTION ONE: Some Characteristics of the Citizen Participation Phenomenon | 3 |
| Parallels in Canada's Past | 3 |
| Pervasiveness of the Phenomenon | 4 |
| Attitudinal Changes | 5 |
| New Linkages and Relationships | 6 |
| The Municipal Level | 7 |
| <i>Trefann Court Urban Renewal</i> | 7 |
| <i>Kensington Community School</i> | 7 |
| The Provincial Level | 7 |
| <i>Ontario</i> | 7 |
| <i>Nova Scotia</i> | 8 |
| <i>Manitoba</i> | 9 |
| The Federal Level | 9 |
| Conclusion | 10 |
| SECTION TWO: Pressures Generating Demands for Participation | 11 |
| Rising Levels of Education | 11 |
| Increasing Size, Complexity, and Pervasiveness of Organizations | 11 |
| The "Narrow Rationality" of Institutional Decision Making | 12 |
| Questioning the Effectiveness of Voting and Representation | 13 |
| Major Cultural Shift | 14 |
| Rate of Change | 15 |
| Response by Government | 16 |
| SECTION THREE: Should Participation be Discouraged or Encouraged? | 17 |
| I Reasons for Discouraging Participation | 17 |
| The Mainstream Political Culture | 17 |
| New Trends in Public Administration | 18 |
| Some Negative Aspects of Participation | 19 |
| II Reasons for Encouraging Participation | 21 |
| The Pressures will Intensify | 21 |
| Participation has Positive Effects | 22 |
| Education and Self Development | 22 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Integrative Nature of Participation | 23 |
| Political Equality | 23 |
| Acceptance of Decisions | 23 |
| Stability and Order | 24 |
| Efficient and Cost-Effective Decisions | 25 |
| III Our Position | 26 |
| The Canadian Political Culture Argument | 27 |
| New Trends in Public Administration | 27 |
| SECTION FOUR: Some Initial Steps | 29 |
| Citizen Involvement as a Priority Item | 29 |
| Administrative Decisions at a Local Level | 30 |
| Delegating Administrative Responsibilities to Citizens | 32 |
| Participation in Solving Regional or Province-Wide Problems | 33 |
| <i>The Small Problem-solving Group</i> | 33 |
| <i>Ministerial Task Forces and Royal Commissions</i> | 34 |
| <i>White Papers</i> | 34 |
| <i>Advisory Groups</i> | 35 |
| Some Initial Changes within Government | 35 |
| <i>Secretarial and Clerical Staff</i> | 36 |
| <i>"Skip Level" Committees</i> | 36 |
| <i>The Organizational Development Approach</i> | 36 |
| <i>Committees without Chairmen</i> | 37 |
| <i>Regional Organization of Government</i> | 38 |
| An Approach to Communications Between Citizens and Government | 39 |
| <i>Our Mass Media Orientation</i> | 39 |
| <i>Social Survey Research</i> | 41 |
| Areas Requiring Immediate Attention | 42 |
| <i>The Legislature</i> | 42 |
| <i>Design of Local Government</i> | 42 |
| <i>Communications Technology</i> | 43 |
| SECTION FIVE: Summary of Major Conclusions | 45 |
| APPENDIX A | 47 |
| APPENDIX B | 49 |



Introduction

The phenomenon giving rise to this study has been recent demands by people for more influence in, and understanding of, decisions affecting their lives.

Governments have not been the sole targets of such demands. Universities, labour unions, corporations, social agencies, indeed institutions of almost every size and description have at one time faced angry groups of people asking why such a decision was taken and why they were not consulted. But it has been in the political arena where most of the action has centred in the past few years, and where a number of compelling questions are beginning to be raised.

Why, for example, are people voicing these demands at a time when problems seem so inter-related and complex, and when solving these problems appears to require considerable organizational and decision making ability?

What are the characteristics of this phenomenon? Is it different from past movements, or are we merely experiencing a number of newer and more vocal pressure groups?

Does it represent a threat to traditional forms of representative government? How should a government respond? Assuming government did want to encourage greater citizen involvement, what initial steps might it take, and what might be their implications?

These questions, in our view, are relevant for a provincial government. The decision on the Spadina Expressway, for example, judged by many to be one of the most important made by the new Cabinet of Premier William G. Davis, was precipitated by vocal groups of citizens expressing opposition to the project.

There are other less dramatic examples of citizen participation's impact on the provincial government. The Ministry of Colleges and Universities recently has had to grapple with demands for a more representative governing structure for the University of Toronto which would involve students, faculty and administrative staff. The Ministry of Education is experiencing increasing requests for some neighbourhood control of schools. Generally, many ministries or agencies responsible for direct service to the public, such as Ontario Housing, Natural Resources, Environment and Ontario Hydro, are involved in a growing number of direct contacts with community and environmental groups.

In recognition of the relevance of this issue for provincial decision-makers, the Committee on Government Productivity established a study with the object of stimulating discussion both within and outside government on some of the questions raised by citizen involvement. Accordingly, a study team composed of C.O.G.P. central staff, some Ontario civil servants and several individuals external to the Government was set up. Four working papers were

commissioned, interviews conducted, and a two-day conference held to discuss the research results. (See Appendix A and B for a listing of the papers, their authors and the individuals involved in the conference.) This paper is the end product, and represents the interpretation by members of the C.O.G.P. central staff of the majority of ideas developed during the two-day conference. It borrows heavily from the four working papers, which are available to interested readers from the Queen's Printer.

The organization of this paper is as follows:

- ♦ In section one, we examine some characteristics of the citizen participation phenomenon.
- ♦ In section two, we speculate as to the origins and pressures creating this phenomenon.
- ♦ In section three, we tackle the question of how and why a government might respond to these pressures.
- ♦ In section four, we suggest some initial steps which a provincial government could take to encourage citizen involvement.

As this outline indicates, no attempt is made to define participatory democracy, citizen involvement, or citizen participation. To our knowledge, no one has produced a definition that is comprehensive or useful. We see our objective, then, as one of encouraging people to discuss and think about the issues raised in this paper, thereby facilitating the development of a well-reasoned response by government.

It is to these issues we now turn.

Section One:

Some characteristics of the citizen participation phenomenon



Making observations about the phenomenon of citizen participation is no easy task. First, it appears to be so varied and to affect so many sectors of our society that it is difficult, if not impossible, for an individual or group of individuals to have experienced its many variations. Second, while we know something about people acting in groups, little empirical research has been done on individual behaviour in this area. Then, there is a media bias to contend with – a bias that tends to overemphasize the dramatic and to play down the more mundane side of the phenomenon. Finally, as many social scientists are beginning to admit, there may be no such thing as objective empirical research of a social or even a physical phenomenon; that is, the observer's values and biases may be crucial in determining what is selected and how it is observed and interpreted; and, for this reason, all observations do not so much constitute reality as they do the observer's perceptions or interpretations.

But to avoid altogether the question of what is happening would be a mistake, for unless perceptions of the phenomenon are widely shared, discussion on why it is taking place and what our response should be may bear little fruit.

We begin, then, by outlining some characteristics of citizen participation which we perceive to be important.

Parallels in Canada's Past

The aspirations for more participatory forms of government have parallels in our past. We in Canada have had a long tradition of movements, arising generation after generation, which aimed at improving the common man's ability to share power with those who governed him. In the early 19th century, for example, attempts to move political power away from appointed executive councils and Governors – the Chateau Clique in Lower Canada, and the Family Compact in Upper Canada – and into elected legislative assemblies comprised one such movement, which reached its dramatic peak in the Rebellion of 1837. Aspirations to extend the voting franchise in the late 19th and early 20th centuries constituted another important political movement, with somewhat similar aims.

At about the same time, the Labour movement arose over much the same kinds of issues – in this case, giving working people a greater voice in questions of pay and working conditions. Finally, although we have by no means exhausted possible examples, we have had in this century a series of political movements aimed at giving "the little guy" a larger share in the running of his country. One very recent manifestation is Paul Hellyer's new party, Action Canada. Hellyer outlines its purpose as follows:

*We want to see how we can make our voices felt collectively
in influencing policy... These are ordinary Canadians –*

*doctors, dentists, housewives, farmers — who feel as I do that there is something wrong with the system.*¹

So stated, Action Canada's basic objective reflects sentiments that have been expressed countless times before by political leaders in every part of our country and of every political stripe.

In sum, the citizen participation movement has important parallels in our democratic traditions. And yet, there are aspects of the present phenomenon which are clear departures from the past. Our remaining observations illustrate this point.

Pervasiveness of the Phenomenon

One notable difference is the pervasiveness of the participation phenomenon. Whereas past movements generally were rooted in one particular sector of society, as was the Labour movement, the present one seems to spring from a great variety of socio-economic strata—middle-class homeowners, students, businessmen, the aged, Indians, the poor. Moreover, it affects not only governments, but other institutions and private businesses as well. Canadian universities have faced recurring and vocal student demands for greater representation on governing bodies. Businesses have had to deal with angry consumers and environmental groups. Labour unions have found it increasingly difficult to keep discipline within their ranks. Decisions made by voluntary associations, such as Metropolitan Toronto's United Appeal and the Social Planning Council, have been challenged by client groups and by those working in the various agencies receiving monies. Even prisons have been affected. Shortly after the riot at Kingston Penitentiary, Solicitor General Jean-Pierre Goyer announced that inmates in each of Canada's 32 federal prisons would be represented by elected committees, which would communicate their views to penitentiary staff on matters ranging from programs of treatment to inmate privileges.

Nor are the institutions affected always large. In one of our interviews, a former director of a small day-care centre talked about the quandary faced by her board in attempting to deal with both staff and parent demands for more say in its management.

As this example illustrates, participatory demands come both from employees working for the institution and groups external to it. Teachers are only one group of employees now becoming more vocal. In a recent issue of the *Educational Courier*, one teacher put the case this way:

On the whole, teachers do not have the power to influence

1. *The Globe and Mail*, Toronto (May 22, 1971)

the quality of education, and by inference the quality of life and leisure. That we ought to have at least some is a foregone conclusion... While we can hardly exert a significant influence on the formation of policies at the provincial level, we certainly must begin to shape our destinies at the county, local and school community level. It is interesting (and horrifying) to observe that often a telephone call from an irate parent can have a greater impact on board policy than a whole staff of griping teachers. ²

The pervasiveness of the phenomenon appears to be causing an interesting side effect. Distinctions between institutions, at least in the minds of some, seem to have become less pronounced. For example, during the recent dispute over the redevelopment of the South St. James Town area of Toronto, groups of tenants made representations to, and at times confronted City Council, the developing company itself, and the institution financing the developers. It has become increasingly common for citizens concerned about a particular issue to approach both government and non-government bodies to register their protests, often employing the same tactics.

Attitudinal Changes

Equally significant in what we are observing today is the marked change in attitudes, especially toward authority and toward our large, highly-structured institutions. Many young people seem to be rejecting traditional governing structures and their top-down methods of decision making. The more radical regard our institutions as symbols of exploitation and depersonalized power and have taken on life styles designed to free them from the orbit of their influence.

While probably not as extreme or pervasive in other segments of our society, similar attitudes appear to be spreading. Increasing numbers of people seem more eager to decide for themselves what is best for them, less willing to delegate decision making power, more distrustful of elected officials and aggressive in making their views known to decision makers. We even see instances in which people organize in order to protect themselves from their elected representatives. ³

Perhaps the most striking evidence of attitudinal change is shown in the new tactics which many individuals and groups are adopting. Traditional political labels and processes — joining political parties, voting, writing to one's elected representative — no longer seem sufficient for many people. Mass demonstrations,

2. Edward Lynas, "Teacher Power", *The Educational Courier* (June 1971)

3. Maureen Quigley, *Democracy Is Us*, a study prepared for the Ontario Department of Municipal Affairs, 1971.

angry confrontations with both elected and appointed officials, and sit-ins are now commonplace events. Perhaps more importantly, they are gaining a new legitimacy. Demonstrations are allowed, even though they sometimes cause massive traffic disruptions. Indeed, it is no longer "radical" to demonstrate.

Also worth noting is the general belief in the effectiveness of protest tactics. Pierre Berton and Charles Templeton, for example, in collecting over 100,000 signatures for a telegram to President Nixon to protest the Amchitka nuclear test, made it quite clear they did not consider it a symbolic or token effort; and that while such a protest might not stop the present test, it could stop plans for any subsequent tests.

A second and related attitudinal change is an increasingly jaundiced view of expertise, or professionalism. Some argue, for example, that people directly affected by a specific problem, "prove to be better informed about its nature and implications than experts generally are".⁴ Others question the notion that expertise is somehow neutral, objective, or value-free. The point made here is that underlying any set of recommendations advanced by an expert are a set of value judgments,⁵ and that such judgments are no better or worse than those of non-experts.

Richard Stanbury, President of the Liberal Party, advances both these arguments in writing to the *Toronto Globe and Mail* on the Federal Government's white paper on taxation.

*The whole idea is that creative effort of experts, no matter how theoretically sound, must not become instant legislation. There must be a chance and a channel for the ordinary individual who is going to live under the law to point out that it won't work in practical terms or that he is not prepared to accept all the implications of it even if it will work.*⁶

New Linkages and Relationships

A casual reader of Toronto dailies over the past year might well have gained the impression that any efforts on the part of citizens to influence public

4. James Lorimer, "Expertise Versus Participation: Who Will Govern Canada's Cities in the Seventies" from *Living in the Seventies*, ed. by A.W. Linden (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1970)

5. For example, economic theory has held that work is little more than a necessary evil, a "disutility" for which wages are a compensation. Compare this with recent administrative theory which stresses that work itself must be designed in such a way as to be fulfilling for all individuals. The differences in policy options which flow from adopting either the economic or administrative view are enormous.

6. Richard Stanbury, *The Globe and Mail*, Toronto (September 13, 1971)

decisions were vigorously opposed, and that the end result was a confrontation situation with one side "winning" and the other side "losing". However, less publicized, but perhaps more significant, are the new bonds of cooperation beginning to develop between citizens and governments at all levels. Some examples are worth citing.

THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL:

Trefann Court Urban Renewal

In June 1971, the Toronto Planning Board approved the \$2 million first phase of the Trefann Court Urban Renewal Scheme. It is of particular interest that this plan was developed and submitted by a working committee composed of local politicians and citizens who had hired their own planner. City council had approved the establishment of the working committee several years previously, after local residents protested an earlier urban renewal plan which called for the expropriation and demolition of their homes.

Kensington Community School

In May, 1971, the property committee of the Toronto Board of Education approved a plan submitted by a group of ratepayers for a Kensington Community School which would cost over \$1.8 million. The plans were the product of numerous meetings between residents and local community service organizations. Speaking to the Ontario Education Association, Ronald E. Jones, Director of Education for Toronto, commented that the linkages between Kensington residents and the school board were a pacesetter for the city as a whole and added:

It is my prediction that never again will the Toronto Board of Education build a neighbourhood school without the active involvement and participation of the neighbourhood residents.⁷

THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL:

Ontario

In the Ontario Government, several examples of new linkages are worthy of note.

The Ministry of Transportation and Communications has a small

7. Ronald E. Jones in an address to the opening session of The Ontario Educational Association on March 21, 1971.

research unit which is exploring methods of gathering information on the social and environmental costs and benefits associated with transportation decisions. One experiment took this unit to the town of Chesley, situated on the Toronto-Owen Sound C.N.R. rail line. There they talked to small groups of residents about the effects on their lives of a recent decision to stop rail service to the town. The results of these discussions were published in the local newspaper, further comments invited, and a final report submitted to the Ministry of Transportation and Communications.

A second example of a new relationship between citizens and government is the Committee on Government Productivity itself. Traditionally, studies of government management in Canada have taken one of two forms: the establishment of a Royal Commission, composed of "outsiders"; or the setting up of a task force composed entirely of "insiders". The C.O.G.P. approach combined senior civil servants with members of the business and academic community in a working committee closely tied to government throughout its lifetime. A similar combination of businessmen and women, consultants and civil servants was used in establishing most of the Committee's project teams and advisory committees.

A third kind of linkage is illustrated by the establishment of the Community Development Branch, now located in the new Ministry of Community and Social Services. Its objective is to assist individuals and community groups in identifying and achieving the priorities and goals of their communities. The Branch provides funds to help establish citizen groups working to increase participation in community affairs. It runs community development conferences in Ontario cities, and is opening field offices in metropolitan areas to provide staff assistance to community groups. It also provides consultation to Ontario Government ministries and agencies wishing to involve citizens in their decision processes.

Nova Scotia

In the Halifax-Dartmouth area, the Provincial Cabinet Committee on Planning and Programs is setting up a "Metropolitan Area Planning Communications Network", or M.A.P.C. The M.A.P.C. is intended to link citizens with all three levels of government. The unique feature of M.A.P.C. is the provision of four task forces: basic services, social services, economic development and administration and finance. Each work group is made up of a mix of federal, provincial, regional and local agencies.

In addition it contains representatives of the voluntary agencies and citizen groups concerned.⁸

8. Arthur Stinson, *Citizen Participation: Community Building in a Time of Urban Crisis*, a paper prepared for the International Union of Local Authorities, Zagreb (October, 1971)

Presumably, the M.A.P.C. provides citizens with access to the same information which government departments possess, thereby increasing their potential influence in planning and decision making.

Manitoba

On January 1st, 1972, the Manitoba Government's reorganization of Winnipeg, Canada's fourth largest city, came into effect.

A truly experimental feature of the plan is the establishment of 13 community committees, each composed of four city aldermen. The committees will propose zoning and local projects, administer some local services, and act as an appeal board for housing bylaws. They are also expected to serve as a direct link between citizens and the city council. The Minister of Urban Affairs has described the plan as, *a total, absolute, and unequivocal commitment to revitalizing democracy at the grass roots level.*⁹

FEDERAL LEVEL

The Federal Government's "Opportunities for Youth" program and its recent "Local Initiatives Program" both illustrate the new relationships developing between governments and citizens. Traditionally, government job-creating programs have been of the winter works variety where jobs were both designed and administered by a government agency. In more recent programs the Federal Government has assumed an entirely new role. It has become a facilitator, providing the resources but leaving the design and administration of job-creating schemes with individuals and groups in the community.

Significantly, many of the projects approved have had to do with improvements to the urban and human environment—checking pollution, creating cultural events, developing new social services, providing educational opportunities, improving physical surroundings.

In summary, a whole new series of links are developing between communities and governments. Working committees combining politicians, civil servants and citizens are emerging. Experts are frequently employed as a community resource. Governments are taking on facilitating roles, challenging the initiative of local communities; and new channels for communication are being developed.

9. As quoted by Arthur Stinson, op. cit. p. 6 - 7

Conclusion

In this section we have outlined four characteristics of the citizen participation phenomenon which we perceive to be of special importance. First, it has several parallels with past attempts to improve the common man's ability to share power with those who govern him. However, it differs fundamentally from past movements in that it affects most sectors of our society and most major institutions. It is accompanied by changing attitudes towards authority, expertise, and institutions among many citizens. Finally, it has resulted in the establishment of new relationships between citizens and governments.

These observations are important in thinking about some of the questions raised earlier in this paper. They lead to the conclusion that this phenomenon is qualitatively different; that it does not represent merely a rise in the number of traditional pressure or lobbying groups but constitutes a new kind of voluntary action to which governments are responding in novel ways. However, many questions remain unanswered. Our next section deals with one of these — what are the pressures that have produced this new phenomenon?

Pressures generating demands for participation

Section Two:



In the belief that understanding must precede and shape any course of action chosen, we speculate in this section about the pressures causing demands for participation. No single reason can provide a satisfactory explanation for such a varied phenomenon. The following, taken in combination, appear to be the major contributing factors.

Rising Levels of Education

Ontario's massive investment in education may have produced a public which is better educated and therefore more critical, more demanding, and at the same time more anxious to participate in political activity. Election studies, for example, both in this country and in others, often reveal a strong correlation between political involvement and levels of formal education.

But rising levels of formal education provide only a partial answer. People today are simply exposed to so much more through the media. By observing the activities of people like themselves participating on television newscasts, they realize that knowledge can be expanded and made fulfilling only through an opportunity to use it.

Increasing Size, Complexity, and Pervasiveness of Organizations

Governments and most other institutions have undergone remarkable changes over the last 30 years. The growth of modern government has had an impact on the lives of all individuals, which already has surpassed anything conceptualized by old line socialists, let alone those devoted to laissez-faire government. Furthermore, it is impossible to predict if or where a new line will be drawn.

With this pervasiveness may well come a feeling on the part of many individuals that they are losing control over the direction of their lives. This sensation of helplessness may produce strong motivations to participate.

Institutions today are also characterized by increasing size and complexity. These qualities may well lead citizens to regard the institution as remote and impersonal. One person who holds this view is Colin Vaughan.

The failure of the remote bureaucrat to administer and legislate for the real needs of people has become a crisis in our society. The educators have lost contact with those who wish to learn; the authorities have lost contact with the public; the politician has lost contact with his constituents... the people are unable to relate to the forms of government they have inherited and governments are unable to relate to

*the responsibilities they should fulfill.*¹

The point is that individuals and groups seek participation to ensure that *somebody* deals with issues concerning them.

The increasing size and complexity of institutions have also placed enormous burdens on top decision makers. In examining the role of the cabinet minister, the C.O.G.P. considered the lack of time for decision making to be one of his key problems. Obviously, politicians can deal with only so many issues at one time and cannot possibly consider all the implications of each decision. Realizing this, individuals and groups organize to ensure that their interests are not overlooked.

Remoteness and complexity produce a corollary effect: a general confusion and uncertainty as to where decision making power actually lies. This confusion may well be the result of the proliferation of government bodies (Ontario alone has some 250 boards, agencies and commissions), and the increasing interdependency of all three levels of governments. Uncertainty as to who is making the decision, let alone who bears responsibility for it, may lead to a desire to influence decision making directly.

The "Narrow Rationality" of Institutional Decision Making

Yet another pressure for participation is the belief, held by increasing numbers of people, that governments and other institutions base their decisions on a too narrowly-defined understanding of what constitutes human well-being. According to this argument, most institutional decision making is based on the assumption that scarcity is mankind's central problem. Society's progress is therefore defined in terms of output — more roads, more buildings, more jobs, higher incomes — to overcome scarcity. Economic development and growth is taken as the primary goal of all governments.

That issues of "quantity" supercede those of "quality" is best illustrated by our economic cost-accounting system, which fails to consider social and cultural consequences, or the impact of technological change on our environment. Thus, elements which many people consider of paramount importance — beauty, diversity, meaningful human relationships within a given community, a pleasing environment - are often bypassed or given secondary consideration.

A recent story in *The Globe and Mail* illustrates how the human and

1. Colin Vaughan, "Listen to the People In The Seventies", from *Living in the Seventies* edited by Allen M. Linden (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1971)

environmental side often is neglected in a governmental decision. Thirty Port Credit residents appeared before the Ontario Municipal Board to fight for what *The Globe* reporter termed, *29 trees and a rustic way of life*. They were asking the Board to turn down \$420,000 of "improvements" suggested by town engineers - wider roads, curbs, sidewalks and better drainage. The issue was summed up by the reporter in the following two paragraphs:

To town officials the 186 houses in a few blocks...are just Area E whose turn has come in a well-ordered program of improvements started six years ago.

To the protestors, the narrow 22-foot roads which get bumpy are fine for the light traffic.... themselves, their visitors and delivery trucks. Wider roads bring more traffic and wider roads mean tree cutting to make room.²

This example does not necessarily signify a fundamental shift in values. The residents from Port Credit probably do not represent any new "green wave". People have always valued beauty, a pleasing environment and meaningful human relations. Rather, what seems to be happening is that:

- ♦ More people perceive that institutional decisions can impinge on human and environmental values.
- ♦ More people realize that by organizing, they might prevent institutions from making and implementing some of these decisions.

Questioning of the Effectiveness of Voting and Representation

Both a cause and an effect of the movement toward more participatory forms of government is a questioning of the mechanisms traditionally used to control and influence those who govern us. Voting in elections is one such mechanism. It is often argued that political sexiness seems to be more important in an election campaign than a discussion of issues; that the techniques of mass persuasion are primed to elicit an emotional, rather than rational response from voters; that candidates are cleverly packaged to create a mystical and mysterious relationship between candidate and electors. Moreover, the complaint sometimes is made that we impose too many incompatible demands on elections; consequently, they meet none well. A letter to the *Toronto Star* puts the argument this way:

Consider the current dilemma of the conscientious voter who wants his vote to have an impact. He may want to:

- ♦ *shake up a government that appears complacent and inefficient,*
- ♦ *support an excellent M.P.P. who is a member of the opposition,*
- ♦ *keep the present Premier in office,*
- ♦ *condemn certain government policies, applaud some and suggest others.*

A simple "X" can hardly express a voter's views on all of these matters. He has to rank them in priority and vote accordingly. Not only is this ranking difficult, but he knows that his opinion is likely to be lost when thrown in with thousands of others with differing priorities.

*But hasn't the citizen of a democracy the right or even the duty to assert an opinion on each of these issues?*³

A related concept now under attack is that of representative government and the responsibility of the member for representing his or her constituents on all issues. Two points are important here. First, in some cases citizens perceive their representative not only as inadequately representing their interests but as actually working against them. Thus, the questioning of the role of the representative stems in part from a lack of trust. Second, the predominant role played by the executive branch in our system of government casts doubts on the effectiveness of the elected representative. One good litmus test often cited as a means of finding where the real power lies is to observe which people are approached by professional lobbyists and pressure groups. Few would argue that these are backbench M.P.'s.

These factors, then lead to lower credibility in the effectiveness of political mechanisms. Therefore, citizens feel they must involve themselves firsthand in the political events of the day, trust their own perceptions, and make their own judgments and decisions.

Major Cultural Shift

Whether the present era is one of fundamental cultural change will not be known for some time, but it seems to be. Springing up all around are youth cultures, counter cultures and other individualistic lifestyles. These are characterized by a reliance upon experience as a basis for thought and action, an orientation to the here and now, a view of existence as process, a search for meaningful involvement, a tendency to question and confront, an inner direction

3. Vaughan Lyon, *Toronto Star* (October 11, 1971)

and autonomy, a concern for and acceptance of others, non-competitive and non-exploitive relationships, and rejection of exclusively economic and technical goals.

A cultural revolution as deep as this one sets loose its own contradictions. Mass demonstrations and tactical violence are at odds with certain features of the emerging culture, especially its tendencies to reject exploitation, aggression and competition. Thus, groups seek power and control when the culture they grope for might deny the usefulness of either concept.

The university is the institution which has experienced this cultural shift most fully. While we in Canada have managed to avoid much of the violence of U.S. campuses, the impact has been profound. A report prepared for the Committee of Presidents of Ontario Universities⁴ underlines the magnitude of change:

...In 1966, the Duff Berdhal report, 'University Government in Canada', devoted two and a half of its one hundred pages to the role of students in the governance of universities. A year, even six months later, the student role would unquestionably have received ten times as much attention. This is a reminder of how recent is the emergence of the student power movement as a potent factor in the educational affairs of the province. It is also a reminder of how great the differences are between the situation five years ago and today.

The new attitudes of many of our young people are carried from universities into other institutions. Indeed, an important pressure for more participation may be the result of the efforts of some administrators to excite and motivate young people working within their institutions.

Rate of Change

The accelerating rate of change, much of it based upon recurrent technological revolutions, may well exert several pressures for more participation.

First, as traditional institutions and communities such as the family, the church or the neighbourhood become less important, people feel the need to establish new communities. Joining and being part of a group satisfies a basic need

4. Porter, Blishen et al, *Towards 2000, The Future of Post Secondary Education in Ontario* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1971) p.39.

for support and companionship. The new community groups may be an outlet for people to fulfill this drive.

Second, people are increasingly exposed to disruptions to their way of life. The list of these disruptions is endless — wider roads, more traffic, intensified noise, new power lines, increased building development, new recreation diversions and more airports, to name a few. The participation demands which have resulted are largely defensive. People simply want to protect their vested interests from outside assaults.

Finally, as pointed out by authors such as Alvin Toffler in *Future Shock*, and Donald Schon in *Beyond the Stable State*, changes are occurring so rapidly that existing institutions simply don't have the capacity to digest and adjust to them. Thus, pressures for participation can be seen as both a cause and effect of this incapacity to deal with rapid change.

*The bureaucratic machinery, beautifully designed to make routine decisions in slower, more stable surroundings, suddenly finds itself inept, incapable of coping with the strange new crises that present themselves...pressed for instant action on all sides, the basic organizations of the city, like future-shocked individuals, find themselves punch-drunk, hopelessly bewildered about their goals. Like adolescents caught up in identity crises, they stumble about asking 'What are we doing? Who are we, anyhow?' And there is no time to stop and think deeply about the answer.*⁵

Response by Government

Cumulatively, the factors we have discussed present political leaders with a growing set of pressures to which to respond. Up to now, no level of government has replied to these pressures in any consistent manner. Much of the response has been *reactive*, as an outcome of threats, demonstrations and other confrontation tactics. However, as the examples in Section One indicate, many politicians and civil servants are adopting a pro-active stance, attempting to create, innovate, and facilitate the emergence of new links with citizens.

In attempting to deal with pressures for participation, governments are faced with two recurring questions: Why should we respond? And how? Both questions provide the theme for the next section.

5. Alvin Toffler, "New York Faces Future Shock", *New York* (Spring, 1970)

Section Three:

Should participation be discouraged or encouraged?



Although governments are beginning to devise new linkages with citizens, the question of whether or not they should encourage and extend these forms of participation is still of importance for several reasons.

First, by answering this question, governments can better determine the appropriate level of response to participatory pressures. Should governments, for example, assign a much higher priority to facilitate citizen involvement or is the present commitment of resources adequate or even more than adequate?

Second, different reasons for encouraging participation may well lead to different methods of creating linkages with citizens. For example, if the preservation of stability and order are selected as dominant reasons, participation may take markedly different forms from those which might be developed if individual learning and self-development were chosen as primary goals.

In dealing with these issues, we have structured this section in three major parts. The first part outlines arguments for constraining or discouraging participation, while the second presents the alternative view, arguing for active encouragement of participation. In the third part, we state our position.

I Reasons for Discouraging Participation

There are generally three major reasons given for constraining or discouraging citizen participation. First, the large majority of Canadians is content with the present system of government. Second, participation appears to be incompatible with new trends in public administration stressing comprehensive anticipatory planning. Third, participation has some negative aspects - it can be inefficient, and manipulative.

We look at each of these arguments in detail.

The Mainstream Political Culture

It is often argued that the dominant orientation of the large majority of citizens is not participatory; that Canadians on the whole are conservative, complacent, and show little desire to depart from established political norms.

Sociologist John Porter, for example, writing in spring, 1969, described the mainstream political culture as follows:

English and French Canadians are more alike in their conservatism, traditionalism, religiosity, authoritarianism and elitist values than the spokesmen for either group are prepared to admit...In Canada this conservatism characterizes elites as well as the mass of the population and pervades most

*of its institutions to a greater degree than in the United States.*¹

Porter, then, sees no distinction between Canadian elite and mass cultures. Both maintain the status quo and participate only in the electoral sense.

John Meisel's study,² conducted after the 1968 election, was based on a representative sample of the Canadian electorate. It revealed that 75 percent of respondents perceived voting as the only way in which people could affect government decisions. The same percentage viewed politics, and government generally, as complicated beyond an average man's understanding. At the same time, approximately 60 percent approved the proposition that people with university degrees should occupy government positions to a greater extent than others. About 80 percent stated that they were satisfied with their lives and financial situations, and happy with prospects for the future. Professor Meisel concluded that the average Canadian voter, (as a member of the mainstream political culture), is highly content, order-loving, and materially satisfied. Moreover, the average voter sees no danger in the future and shows no intention of departing from his or her established, secure forms of behaviour.

In summary, this argument suggests that the Ontario mainstream political culture generates very little participant pressure and the situation is not likely to change over the next decade. While demands on the part of the minority for more involvement may gather momentum, the response of political decision makers, according to this view, should be low-keyed and consistent with the views of the majority, mainstream culture, who are opposed to participant politics.

New Trends in Public Administration

It appears that we are entering a new era in public administration and decision making, both at the federal and provincial levels. It promises to be a period characterized by a high degree of optimism and a conviction that powerful analytical and technological capabilities will fundamentally transform the decision making process, thus vastly improving the quality and the effectiveness of the decisions themselves.

For the first time, the optimists argue, we have the tools to do the job. It is, therefore, our moral duty to use them to the fullest. This normative imperative is dictated by the increasing interdependence and complexity of events, which many believe will impose progressively heavier burdens on

1. John Porter, "The Canadian National Character in the Twentieth Century", *Cultural Affairs*, (Spring, 1969), page 50.

2. John Meisel, "The Canadian Election Survey", mimeographed data and analysis.

government decision makers and administrators. If we do not begin now, if we do not anticipate and plan comprehensively, we may eliminate permanently many desirable possible futures, leaving only second-rate alternatives for our children and our children's children.

*There is a continual dying of possible futures, and two mistakes are common; to be unaware of them while they are alive, and to be unaware of their death when they have been killed off by the lack of discovery.*³

To this we can add an excerpt from the Speech From the Throne, delivered October 8, 1970, in Ottawa.

*It is an age in which life-support systems of the biosphere may collapse unless man reverses his present course and begins again to live in harmony rather than in competition with his environment. It is an age in which the forces of science and technology now in motion are so massive, so swift and comprehensive, that man may be facing his last opportunity to control his own destiny rather than be subject to it....Man can no longer afford the luxury of reacting to events. He must anticipate and plan.*⁴

In sum, the direction of the normative thrust is unmistakable: efficiency, rationality, comprehensiveness, control, planning, anticipation. These are the central or core values which will underlie the public decision making process. This argument suggests that the structures and decision processes spawned by these values, and the attitudes of the people needed to make them work, will be incompatible with any meaningfully participative process of decision making.

Some Negative Aspects of Participation

It is often argued that governments should maintain a low level of response to demands for participation in order to avoid certain negative results. One such effect might be that participation would make government more ineffective; that is, the government's capacity to act quickly would be reduced, decisions would be watered-down compromises pleasing no one, and expectations would be raised only to be disappointed by the end result. Alan Altshuler sums up the arguments this way:

3. Bertrand De Jouvenal, quoted in John Wilkinson's "Futuribles, Innovation and Stability", *Centre Diary* (March/April, 1967) p.18.

4. Government of Canada, *Speech from the Throne*, Third Session, 28th Parliament (October 8, 1970)

*... Groups of laymen — and especially groups of poorly educated laymen with little or no administrative experience — have particular handicaps as decision-makers. They have little time to devote to consideration of the issues; their concerns are selfish and immediate; they lack technical competence; they are both timid and suspicious... If policies are ever adopted, they tend to be extremely short run and conservative — giving each interest a little bit more of what it already knows and values. As the typical citizen values effective government much more than he values participation, however, the results of trying to involve and please everyone may be to please no one.*⁵

A second negative aspect of participation is that it might increase, rather than counteract, political inequalities existing in our society. Those who already know will know more; those who already express their opinions will express them more effectively, and the rest will be even further behind as knowers and doers. This problem is not unlike the widening economic gap between the poor and the rich both at the individual and national levels.

Fears that participation will produce this effect found expression through the recent white paper on taxation. Beyond the question of whether the end results were good or bad, many argued that the exercise gave special advantages to those with the time and resources to understand the legislation and to express their opinion.

A final negative aspect is that participation can be manipulative, especially in circumstances where middle class people act as “catalysts” in poor working class districts. Alexander Ross of the *Toronto Star*, asked the question in a recent column:

*...in the fight to save downtown neighbourhoods, whom are they being saved for? Lower income people who have always lived there, or nice young couples with jobs in universities and ad agencies with a lot of bright ideas for renovating old houses?*⁶

We turn now to some reasons for encouraging participation.

5. Alan A. Altshuler, *Community Control* (Washington: Urban Institute, 1970) p. 45

6. Alexander Ross, *Toronto Star* (November 9, 1971)

II Reasons for Encouraging Participation

Two reasons for actively encouraging participation are cited most often:

- Pressures operating to generate participatory demands will, if anything, intensify.
- Positive values inherent in participation should be encouraged.

We look at each of these in more detail.

The Pressures will Intensify

Assuming that some or all of the pressures for participation outlined in Section Two are relevant, then the aspirations and movement for more participatory forms of democracy cannot be regarded as a passing fad. Arguments can be advanced to show that participatory demands will, if anything, intensify.

The new linkages developing between citizens and government set important precedents which probably will be emulated. In Toronto, for example, wide press coverage of the new municipal structure for the city of Winnipeg has already led to several suggestions that Ontario follow Manitoba's lead. The Kensington School experiment, as previously indicated, has been described by one senior administrator as a pacesetter for the City of Toronto. Emulation, then, will stem from the demands not only of citizens but also of government officials and politicians, who, as they learn more about these linkages, will want to apply them elsewhere to enhance their own effectiveness.

Some of the pressures for participation outlined in Section Two may well be building in intensity. Levels of education are bound to increase. Our communications media will expose us to more and more examples of others participating. Organizations are becoming larger and more complex; and governments show no sign of decreasing their involvement in our lives. The rate of technological change probably will continue to accelerate; and the young, as they enter the working force, will bring new ideas and attitudes to bear upon our institutions. All these factors, then, suggest an intensified rather than a diminished set of forces for participation.

A final argument concerns the Provincial Government, which, in several of its new policy initiatives, will be entering some increasingly sensitive areas. Regional Development is one such policy area. Here, the Province may be compelled to restrict some property rights. Attempting to do this without the extensive involvement of those affected could prove to be politically untenable.

Participation has Positive Effects

Many people, both practitioners and political theorists, justify citizen involvement by citing its positive effects on both the individual and society. We look at six of these: education and self development, integration, political equality, the acceptance of decisions, stability and order, and efficient and cost-effective decision making.

Education and Self Development

There is a long tradition of political thought which defends democracy in terms of its salutary effects on the individual. Active citizen involvement in the operation of government has been advocated by Mill, Rousseau, Montesquieu, De Tocqueville, and Jefferson among others.⁷

John Stuart Mill's view of effective government is worth quoting:

*....the most important point of excellence which any form of government can possess is to promote the virtue and intelligence of the people themselves. The first question in respect to any political institution is how far they tend to foster in the members of the community the various desirable qualities, moral and intellectual.*⁸

Contemporary aspirants for participatory democracy borrow heavily from such classical theorists to justify their case. The following are often cited as ways in which certain forms of participation can promote *the virtue and intelligence of the people*.

- ♦ Participation broadens the intellect by exposing the individual to new and challenging ideas and to different classes and groups of people.
- ♦ Participation enhances an individual's self esteem, in that others respond to his needs and desires. Self esteem also may be enhanced by perceiving the tangible results of one's contributions to a decision.
- ♦ Participation promotes independence by enabling each individual to judge what is best for him or her.

7. The views of Mill, Rousseau and Cole in regard to participation are examined by Carole Pateman in a book entitled *Participation and Democratic Theory* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

8. John Stuart Mill, *On Representative Government* (London: Everyman ed. 1862) p. 193.

- ♦ Participation challenges the initiative of the individual. It promotes self expression by encouraging more people to "do their own thing".
- ♦ Participation promotes a feeling of fellowship and a sense of community with others, and thus helps to fulfil a basic human need.

The modern expression of Mill is found in writers like Churchman, who argues that in the near future, being part of a problem-solving process will be an end in itself; and that developing the actual solution to the problem will be only a means to individual self development.

We are so used to thinking in terms of goals and attainment, that it is like imagining the fourth dimension to think otherwise. The so-called goals (of decision-making)...profit, pleasure and learning... are really the means, the means whereby people can contribute to life's plan. It is contribution which is the goal, because contribution is the full expression of each one's individuality. We create problems and attempt to solve them in order to contribute.⁹

Integrative Nature of Participation

The inclusion of individuals in decision processes affecting them forces them to consider the interests of others. Individuals gradually expand their perspectives: first, beyond the boundaries of their individual interests; then, beyond the interests of their organization. Thus, participation works against parochialism, and enhances understanding of, and sensitivity to others.

Political Equality

Advocates of participation often argue that more participatory forms of government provide increased opportunities to groups such as the Indians and the poor who traditionally have had little influence in decisions affecting their lives. In addition, the greater the number of citizens who participate in government, and the greater the amount of time spent by each individual in political activity, the more remote is the possibility that substantial political power will rest in the hands of the few.

Acceptance of Decisions

Individuals, it is argued, are more likely to accept decisions when they

9. Churchman, "The Case Against Planning", *Management Decision* (Summer 1968)

know that they have influenced them, and will tend to feel a deep responsibility for those decisions. This principle has been widely accepted by managers in large organizations. It originates from the work of administrative theorists such as Blake, MacGregor and Argyris, who concentrated on the human side of organizational design.

Two current techniques in particular emphasize employee involvement in decisions which affect them. The first, management by objectives, employs a formal system wherein *managers and their superiors and subordinates up and down the corporate hierarchy meet to 'discuss their goals'. Broad company-wide goals come from above, but individuals also are expected to propose what they themselves intend to accomplish. The objectives, large and small, are then meshed into a presumably coherent plan.*¹⁰

A second technique, known as Organizational Development (O.D.), also involves employees in decision making, but on a group rather than on a superior/subordinate basis. It takes forms such as "T-groups", encounter groups, and sensitivity training, and attempts to develop interpersonal competence, teamwork, and group dynamic skills. O. D. achieves effectiveness and adaptability by helping to overcome the limitations of highly structured organizations. Its purpose is to build more employee participation and collaborative decision making in problem-solving.¹¹

Applying much the same logic to involvement by people outside an organization, there is a strong basis for arguing that participation will indeed facilitate the implementation of public decisions.

Stability and Order

A corollary to the preceding is that participation tends to stamp government activity with legitimacy. Neil Kotler makes this point in an unpublished working paper submitted to the Committee on Government Productivity.

Participation serves as a safety valve to diffuse or neutralize dissidence. When dissidents are allowed to participate, they come to feel the full weight of either the acceptance or rejection of the majority opinion. They will be less careless in gauging what the majority wishes. They will also become more sensitive to, and accepting of, the average opinion, and

10. Richard Todd, "Notes on Corporate Man", *Atlantic* (September, 1971)

11. William B. Eddy, "Beyond Behaviouralism, Organizational Development in Public Management", *Public Personnel Review* (July, 1970)

come to accept the procedures for differing with and changing this majority opinion. Only persons who live outside of the political community have no stake in it.

Efficient and Cost-Effective Decisions

A final reason for encouraging participation may be the most startling of all: participation possibly is the most efficient and cost-effective way of making decisions. Frederick Thayer, in a paper written for the Committee on Government Productivity puts the case this way:

...While conventional wisdom argues that participation slows down decision processes, adds to the overall cost and design of implementation, and introduces a host of irrelevant factors, participation may do precisely the opposite. Most decision-making studies never examine the costs of overcoming consequences not foreseen in advance. There can be no better way of discovering these unforeseen consequences, long a major problem of administration, than by involving in the decision processes those likely to be affected by them. A slower decision can become economical over the long term. Participation in other words may be cost-effective through cost-avoidance, something that may be widely accepted in a few years.

The Spadina Expressway issue provides an illustration of this point. Leaving the question of whether the final decision was right or wrong, it is difficult to imagine a decision process generating, at the eleventh hour, a more dismal range of alternatives. By deciding not to continue the expressway, part of the huge capital investment is wasted; many citizens in the north-west part of the city cannot see an immediate solution to their transportation problems and consequently are dissatisfied; city politicians clearly have lost an important battle and subsequently Metro/Provincial relationships are strained.

Had it been decided to build part or all of the expressway, the social and environmental costs, as perceived by many people, would have been enormous. Both Municipal and Provincial governments would be confronted by a significant number of irate citizens who had lost a battle with their governments.

Moreover, no matter what the alternative chosen, the long delay in making a decision incurred a substantial loss of potential interest from capital tied up in land and construction.

A planning process for urban transportation, then, that from the beginning involves citizens from all affected parts of the city, some municipal

politicians, planners, and Provincial politicians surely can do no worse.

Indeed, the recent decision on the route of highway 417 through the regional municipality of Ottawa Carleton suggests that the active involvement of affected citizens may well be a more efficient and effective means of decision-making. As in the Spadina issue, many residents objected to the original decision made by the regional council. A re-study of the problem was initiated. Of particular interest was the distribution to the communities of much of the information useful to planners in making this transportation decision, and the invitation to individuals and groups both to suggest and comment on alternatives. The re-study caused the regional council to change its original decision to one which appeared to have much wider public support.

Taken together, then, the listing in this part suggests that participation is inevitable and that it is desirable on many grounds.

III Our Position

We have three major conclusions.

First, governments should realize that not all forms of participation are desirable, and should avoid promoting those likely to have negative results. Hence, we accept many of the arguments on the potentially negative aspects of participation raised in part one of this section.

The positive forms of participation will tend to create situations in which:

- Desirable effects on the individual occur; e.g. learning and individual self-development.
- Increased consideration of the interests of others is encouraged and self-interest and parochialism are discouraged.
- Political equality is strengthened and enhanced.
- Effective implementation of decisions results through participants feeling responsible for decisions made.
- Confrontation situations in which one side wins and another loses are avoided.
- Manipulation is openly discouraged.
- The major costs and implications of decisions are clearly visible.

Second, governments should devote considerably more resources to planning and implementing ways of actively encouraging positive forms of citizen involvement in their decision making processes.

As we indicated in the introduction, it is impossible as yet to design any

ultimate model for participation, nor is it possible to determine in advance whether such a model will work. Therefore, our third conclusion is that any approach to implementing mechanisms for citizen involvement should be continuously exploratory. The stress should be on process and flexibility, rather than on structures and uniformity. With this experimental approach must come a willingness to admit that some experiments do not work and to abandon them.

Having put forward these three conclusions, we advance our replies to some of the arguments against citizen participation raised in the first part of this section.

The Canadian Political Culture Argument

The argument that the majority of Canadians do not want to influence directly decisions affecting their lives, or do not have the capabilities to do so, cannot be easily dismissed. These may well be the facts of political life. However, while it might be possible to argue that this situation does in fact exist, it is overly pessimistic to conclude that this level of political sophistication is natural, normal or inevitable. If this condition cannot be altered in any meaningful way, then we have taken the development of the democratic process to its ultimate conclusion.

In short, it might be a better world with more people actively participating in some of the decisions affecting them. Let us at least attempt to move in directions which provide opportunities for them to do so.

New Trends in Public Administration

The argument that our society is entering a period in which the need to anticipate and plan has never been greater is forceful and compelling. What appears to be the central issue, however, is not that the need exists, but rather how we should go about meeting it. Should we, for example, rely on planning processes manned for the most part by professional planners and experts, or should we begin to encourage planning which relies on significant involvement by affected citizens? There are at least two reasons for preferring the latter course.

Mounting evidence from such diverse fields as urban renewal, Indian Affairs, education, and urban transportation indicates that professional planners cannot plan effectively and comprehensively by themselves. Often their perceptions of a particular problem differ markedly from those of the client groups. More importantly, their proposed policies frequently have serious implications for the community, of which they are unaware.

Professor Lloyd Axworthy of the University of Winnipeg, who observed first hand the Federal Task Force on Housing, makes this point as follows:

Time and time again it became clear that there was a disparity between views of the people and views of the experts and decision-makers. The sociologists would say that what was needed was more public housing, the people who lived in it disagreed. City officials waxed eloquent over the success of urban renewal; people told a different story. Academics said there was not really a housing crisis; people told of their frustration of not finding a good place to live at a price they could afford. It became very clear that the perception of the influentials who made policy and those of the people were very different, causing task force members to be very sceptical of the advice and information given them by experts and officials.¹²

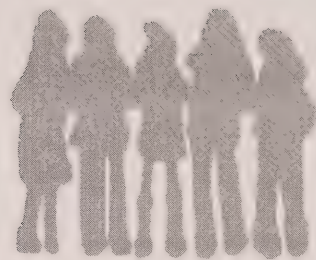
Even if it is assumed that professional planners are capable of anticipating and planning comprehensively, a second reason for involving affected citizens is that it would be undesirable to leave judgments of value to planners. As many planners themselves are beginning to admit, these value choices frequently go beyond the final policy decision made by politicians. Indeed, the very way in which the planners perceive the problem represents a series of value judgments, often more implicit than explicit. Similar judgments on the part of planners are made in choosing "viable" alternatives to be placed before the politicians. A fundamental question then is, should a democratic society allow these important value judgments to be made by planners alone? Our answer is a definite no.

On the basis of these conclusions, we move into the final section of this paper, where we suggest some initial steps to implement our concept of positive participation.

12. Lloyd Axworthy, "The Housing Task Force: a Case Study" from *The Structures of Policy Making in Canada*, ed. Doern and Aucoin, (Toronto: MacMillan, 1971) p.145.

Section Four:

Some initial steps



The successful introduction of new forms of participation will depend primarily on the willingness of people within and outside government to assume new roles and to experiment with new ideas. For politicians and civil servants, this may mean placing greater stress on facilitating and enabling roles rather than on those emphasizing directive leadership. It implies a willingness to accept situations which seem unstructured and ambiguous; to place less emphasis on uniformity, and more on diversity; to say more frequently to citizens, "I don't know, but perhaps I can find out from you"; to try out new ideas which run counter to existing theories of administration.

However, the onus for trying out new roles and ideas does not rest solely with politicians and civil servants. Many advocates of participation seem to be caught up in old and extremist theories. They appear to argue that they should replace the existing establishment and exercise the same power themselves; that they should have a unilateral veto on all decisions; or that every individual should participate extensively in each aspect of any decision potentially affecting his or her life. There is no shortage of proposals for open hearings in huge auditoriums; for neo-classical forms of Athenian democracy; or for technically sophisticated and instantaneous referenda on all public issues, conducted by means of electronic home-voting consoles, perhaps attached to television sets.

In contrast, several of our suggestions have as the fundamental unit of organization a collegial, face to face, problem-solving group, large enough to include the perspectives and expertise to deal with the problem at hand, but small enough to ensure that the contribution of each participant is substantial and meaningful. Its membership would come from both the government and non-government sectors, and might be linked to similar groups through common membership.

In that the C.O.G.P. was asked in its mandate to exclude study of the Legislature, we have tended to concentrate on developing suggestions related to the administrative and executive functions of government. Despite this constraint, several of our suggestions have important implications for the role of the M.P.P.

We now turn to a listing of seven suggestions which a provincial government might consider to encourage the development of positive forms of participation.

Citizen Involvement as a Priority Item

A first step might be the announcement by government, perhaps in a speech from the throne that:

- ♦ The government considers as legitimate, concerns on the part of

citizens for a greater influence on decisions which affect them.

- ♦ The problem of how to bring about additional positive forms of participation is a priority item for which the government will allocate more resources.
- ♦ Existing programs which already encourage citizen involvement, such as those run by the Community Development Branch in the new Ministry of Community and Social Services, should be allocated additional resources.
- ♦ The government intends to learn over the next few years, through continuous experimentation, which forms of participation work best in particular situations.
- ♦ Although no one Ministry, branch, or individual would be in charge of these first tentative steps, the Provincial Secretaries for each policy field, who have time to think about and devise experiments, would consider this an important part of their responsibilities.
- ♦ The government intends to begin a series of discussions involving civil servants, politicians and interested citizens with the object of indicating where experimentation could begin and what involvement should achieve.

Administrative Decisions at a Local Level

Many of the issues of the deepest concern to individuals are those closest to home – the design and operation of the local health or day care centre; curriculum setting for the local school or the location and design of public housing units. These decisions, which most frequently are made by administrators exercising discretionary authority, could be dealt with by small problem-solving groups which would make recommendations to the departments concerned.

The major characteristics of such groups might be as follows:

- ♦ They would be temporary in nature, disbanding after making recommendations.
- ♦ In conformance with what we know about effective small group decision making, the membership of each group would range from 5 to 12.
- ♦ The group would attempt to include individuals with the perspectives and expertise necessary to deal with the problem. Thus it might be composed of civil servants and local politicians from the various levels of government and representatives of

volunteer agencies and concerned citizen groups.

- ♦ If a group were composed of too many people for effective decision making, a number of sub-groups could be established, linked to one another through common memberships.
- ♦ Conflict resolution would be the responsibility of the members of each group, not of some final arbiter above the process. New sub-groups, responsible for working out any conflicts which might arise, could be formed as discussions proceed.
- ♦ The group might be assigned resources to hire its own expertise to aid in developing recommendations.

In order to experiment successfully with such problem-solving groups, certain prerequisites must be met. First, civil servants should be willing to assume certain new attitudes and roles. Second, conflict resolution will only be possible if participants do not hold rigidly to their own initial positions or even those of their organization. Third, information and communication systems would have to be established to inform interested persons both within and outside of government. Fourth, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to include politicians in the process if party politics were to impose major constraints on representatives from different political parties working together on a common local problem. Last, a central assumption is that the population as a whole is willing to tolerate greater diversity in the operation and design of their schools, health, and other services and facilities.

If these pre-conditions were met, the process, which at times might appear time-consuming and ambiguous, would have the following results:

- ♦ People could make meaningful contributions to decisions affecting their lives.
- ♦ They would have to acknowledge the interests of others.
- ♦ Governments would know how citizens feel about a particular subject, and would work with them to solve problems.
- ♦ The decision process employed would increase the likelihood of avoiding confrontation situations in which one side "wins" and another "loses".
- ♦ The probability that the decision process would consider the major costs and implications for the community would be increased.

As many of the examples in Section I indicate, processes similar to the one outlined above are developing, and some appear to have been successful. Two

points, however, are worth stressing again: first, that these working committees do not have ultimate decision making authority, but merely make recommendations to an elected body or to an administrator; second, that all perspectives within the community wanting to be heard must be represented on these committees. A decision process, closed to any group affected by the decision, is not a positive form of participation and should be discouraged.

The same examples also illustrate that citizen participation should not be thought of as an alternative to, or replacement for representative democracy. Rather, it should be regarded as an opportunity to re-examine the role of the elected representative, and indeed add new functions to it. The formation of local problem-solving groups, for example, may provide M.P.P.'s with an important new function, but one unlike any other they now perform. Here the emphasis might be on playing an expediting role through bringing together various citizen perspectives on a local problem, and attempting to resolve conflicts among disparate interests.

Delegating Administrative Responsibilities to Citizens

In the preceding, we suggested that problem-solving groups be established to make recommendations to government on administrative decisions. An extension of this would be the delegation of complete administrative responsibility for a government service to groups in the community.

In certain instances, this is taking place already. The Federal Government, for example, in launching its 'Opportunities for Youth Program' and its more recent 'Local Initiatives Program', has delegated both the design and administration of job creating schemes to community groups and individuals. On a smaller scale, the Madison Project in Toronto, a drug rehabilitation program supported by public funds, was designed and run by individuals outside government. Similar programs in housing, education, health, and welfare are being tried or suggested. Indian leaders, such as Harold Cardinal, are asking the Federal Government to allow Indians to run many of their own social development programs.

Several obstacles make these programs difficult to implement. One is the accountability of public funds. How, it is asked, can we be sure that public funds are not squandered or wasted? Will we not continue to hear about abuses, such as last summer's reports of Opportunities for Youth grants being used to grow marijuana? These questions of accountability are, of course, applicable to other grant-giving programs of government. Universities, schools, hospitals, certain businesses, conservation authorities and museums all receive public monies. Few would argue that no waste or inefficiency occurs in these institutions. The question, then, is a universal one for which governments have never had a completely satisfactory answer.

A means often suggested for controlling grants is to base them on certain quantifiable criteria, such as the number of jobs created, the number of patient days, the number of students, and to employ an elaborate reporting system for monitoring performance. But if one of the objectives of participation is to produce some non-quantifiable, less tangible results, for example, learning and self-development or the encouragement of initiative, what happens to traditional notions of accountability? And might not the detailed accounting and paperwork turn off the very initiative we hope to promote?

Perhaps one answer to this problem would be to make the activities and decision processes of a group responsible for administering a program well known and open to the community affected. Accountability then would rest not with the small groups of individuals actively administering the program, but rather with the community or neighbourhood being served. Second, government and the public would need to recognize the importance of non-quantifiables, such as the development of human initiative, and broaden traditional notions of accountability to include these.

Our notion of responsibility is yet another obstacle to implementing programs where groups of citizens make administrative decisions affecting others, such as curriculum decisions at a community school. To whom are these decision makers responsible?

Here, the answer might be to ensure that the decision making process is open to all who wish to participate in it, using a linked, small group decision making technique. Indeed, a precondition to any group receiving monies to administer public programs might be that it demonstrate how its decision making processes would include all viewpoints from the affected community.

Participation in Solving Regional or Province-Wide Problems

As public decisions affect wider geographic areas and greater numbers of people, the difficulties of achieving meaningful involvement obviously increase. In this section we look at four techniques which appear to have some merit in tackling problems with such widespread effects.

The small problem-solving group

Assuming that there are a reasonably limited number of perspectives on any one problem, and that these perspectives can be organized into identifiable groups, the small problem-solving group model previously outlined might well be applicable to large scale problems such as regional development and transportation issues. Questions of urban transportation, for example, might lend

themselves to a problem-solving group composed of citizens from the areas most affected, civil servants, planners, and politicians from both the municipal and provincial levels of government.

More sophisticated forms of this approach to decision making might involve a series of such working committees at the neighbourhood or community level linked through common membership to a regional committee.

The major problem in applying this technique to large scale issues is that time constraints might force the exclusion of individuals or groups from the decision making process. Perhaps as we learn more about linked small group techniques this will become less of a problem.

Ministerial Task Forces and Royal Commissions

Decision processes in which the decision makers talk directly to people affected by their decisions should be encouraged. Ministerial task forces and Royal Commissions are two such devices encouraging direct person-to-person communication. Members of Paul Hellyer's Federal Task Force on Housing, for example, toured apartments, senior citizen homes and public housing. Most important, they saw their job as one of finding out from people how they perceived their housing problems, rather than relying on the perceptions of experts.

The conventional ministerial task force could be supplemented by the addition of several M.P.P.'s to aid the Minister, perhaps by conducting mini-task forces in their own ridings or regions. These smaller task forces would be linked to the main one by shared or common members, probably the M.P.P.'s themselves. Once again, the M.P.P. could play a catalytic or expediting role, using his regional task force to bring together the various citizen viewpoints within his riding.

White Papers

The White Paper, as used by the Federal Government in introducing proposed tax changes, could develop into an important technique for initiating public dialogue on an important policy question. Several obstacles to its effectiveness, however, should be recognized before further experimentation along this line. Let us look at some of these.

As we pointed out in Section III, the argument can be made that the White Paper exercise increases the knowledge and influence of those who are already aware, thus encouraging rather than counteracting present political inequalities.

Reaching the “man at the bottom” will not be easy. One answer may be the use of task forces or parliamentary committees which meet directly with citizens. Advisory committees may be another such device. Perhaps we should also examine the option of providing resources to groups of disadvantaged people, so that they can hire experts to help them understand the implications of a proposal and suggest comments and possible changes.

A second problem is that the White Paper device promotes self interest. It contains no mechanism which encourages opposing groups to consider and to develop a sensitivity to others. Perhaps, then, the government could set up conferences and seminars in which opposing interest groups and government officials could talk about the proposals and examine their differences.

A third problem is that a White Paper gives only one proposal, thus setting up a potential confrontation, win/lose situation, in which the government, if it changes the proposals, seems to be backing down. One way around this situation would be for the government to present a number of proposals, perhaps as many as three or four. This is essentially the approach followed by the British in publishing their Green Papers.

Advisory Groups

Most governments, including that of Ontario, have abundant advisory groups. Although we do not suggest that more be formed, two improvements could be made to existing ones.

- ♦ Most advisory groups should be temporary in nature, established for a specified time period to advise on a given problem, and then disbanded. If an advisory group itself is not temporary, then its members should serve for limited terms. In addition, these terms should be staggered so as to encourage a constant flow of new members into the group without loss of continuity.
- ♦ Membership for these advisory groups should not always be decided on the basis of professional competence. Non-professionals might be more sensitive to how the community or client groups perceive their problems.

Some Initial Changes Within Government

Governments advocating participatory democracy will need to involve their internal staff in decisions affecting them. This is necessary because:

- ♦ The attitudes necessary to involve external people in public decision-making are incompatible with those supportive of highly structured, hierarchical organizations.

- ♦ More important, a government is inconsistent when it stresses the importance of citizen involvement, but does nothing about internal administrative systems which tend to exclude people from decisions affecting them. In short, the issue is the same whether people are outside or inside the organization.

This last point should also apply to the internal arrangements of any organization or group wishing to influence or participate in government decisions.

Again, as in attempts to involve citizens, the approach should be tentative and experimental. Major emphasis would be given to replacing points on the organization chart where one person is in charge with a collective process conforming to what we know about effective small group decision making.¹

We suggest five possible starting points.

Secretarial and Clerical Staff

People at the lower levels within the organization could be given the opportunity to participate in the decision making processes of greatest concern to them. One branch in the Ontario Government is doing this already. Decisions on the hiring of new secretaries, for example, are made by secretarial staff. Similarly, secretarial and clerical staff take part in a collegial decision making group which determines administrative procedures within the office.

"Skip level" Committees

A second step might be to gradually redesign departmental committees and subcommittees so that they are "skip level" in composition, that is, composed of officials from two or three levels in the hierarchy. This structuring would move away from traditional practice, whereby sub-department heads submit recommendations to superior officials who then make binding decisions, and toward collective decision making involving those individuals most affected by the decisions. Moreover, the involvement of at least three levels of staff in decision making processes diffuses the notion of a vertical hierarchy within the organization.

The Organizational Development Approach

As we have mentioned earlier, organizational development (O.D.) includes a wide variety of techniques, ranging from interpersonal skill de-

1. Many of the C.O.G.P. recommendations are based on small group decision making, e.g. establishment of a Policy & Priorities Board, Management Board, and Policy Field Committees, linked through common membership.

velopment through “T groups” and sensitivity training to the essentials of participatory management. Its basic objective is to create an environment which encourages employees to function in collaborative ways, to become more honest, open, and trusting with each other, and to realize their potential as human beings.

To date, the O.D. approach has not been widely used, in that it has been restricted to professional levels in business and government. Sooner or later, it should be extended to lower levels. Many administrative theorists argue that experience shows industrial workers and employees at the lowest levels perform better and get more satisfaction from their job when they participate in the actual design of their work. This does not mean that all employees should have sensitivity training. Participative management and facilitative skills can be better developed at the work place, not in exotic sessions which compel individuals to reveal too much of themselves at too fast a pace.

One small branch in the Ontario Government is experimenting with the application of O.D. techniques to lower levels within the hierarchy. It brings together professional and clerical staff in quarterly sessions to discuss their organization and to develop new approaches to both administrative and external problems.

Committees without Chairmen

An accepted principle of administration is that any decision making process must have a clearly designated focus of final authority, or one person who is ultimately in charge. Thus, whenever committees or task forces are formed, one person inevitably is named as chairman.

Yet, in many cases, this principle is rejected, especially in volunteer groups or groups of young people. Several important differences result.

- ♦ An administrative chairman who has no formal authority may be appointed. He or she becomes responsible for the “nuts and bolts” matters of the committee, such as arranging meetings, keeping order, and following an agreed upon agenda. Often the position rotates from person to person within the committee.
- ♦ Conflicts must be worked out within the committee — no one person is designated as a final arbiter.
- ♦ Decisions by the committee are the responsibility of all its members. No one person is deemed accountable for committee actions.

As startling as a committee without a chairman might appear, it may be more effective in some instances than the traditional committee format. When

establishing inter-departmental committees, for example, the naming of a chairman sometimes presents a real problem, since no department wants to recognize the overlordship of an individual from another department. This question of who should be in charge might be resolved in a more satisfactory way by not naming a chairman, but allowing departments to work out their conflicts among themselves.

Regional Organization of Government

A new form of organization recently initiated by President Nixon is the establishment of 10 Federal regions, each with a regional centre. Federal agencies were told to locate their regional offices in the designated cities and to standardize their geographical boundaries to those of the regions.

Nixon's major reasons for reorganization seem to be twofold. First, standardized geographic boundaries would simplify problems of internal co-ordination among agencies dealing with different aspects of the same problem; for example, an urban renewal scheme affecting several agencies. Second, and perhaps more important, each regional centre would provide a focal point for client groups, such as state or city representatives, to talk to all the Federal agencies at the same time in the same room.

These advantages are also desirable for provincial and federal governments in Canada. In Ontario, for example, there is little if any standardization of geographic boundaries or regional centres for the departments and agencies. Our interviews suggested that coordination problems on the regional level are no less pressing in Canada than in the United States.

One factor inhibiting the formation of such regional centres is the conventional administrative principle previously referred to, which states that if there is a regional organization, someone must be in charge of it. But who? No department will willingly subordinate itself to another. It might also be feared that a senior official, M.P.P., or regional minister directly assigned by the Prime Minister might become an important political figure akin to a regional prime minister, creating complex new de facto political constituencies.

The solution may well be to form a regional centre without designating any individual in command of regional groups. An administrative chairman could be appointed by the regional committee, as could an administrative secretariat. The position of administrative chairman might also rotate among the various departments and agencies.

Regional offices could then become a powerful mechanism for encouraging citizen involvement. They would be centres of two-way influence, dealing on the one hand with committees and other bodies at the provincial level

and, on the other, with municipal governments and communities. These regional offices would not have autonomous authority; they would be linking pins between local communities and the provincial government, and could include citizens on problem-oriented sub-committees.

Experimentation with these ideas, as indicated earlier, should proceed on a limited basis, perhaps initially confined to one or two regions.

An Approach to Communications Between Citizens and Government

Several of our suggestions thus far have had important implications for government-citizen communications. One such implication is the often repeated need for a more open flow of communication. To participate, people must know government's intentions, and they must be given enough time to make a meaningful contribution.

Present conventional approaches, however, tend to stress a one-way flow of information from government to citizen or from citizen to government, and generally do not mention the need to facilitate communication among citizens about government. Our emphasis, on the other hand, has been on communication processes which stress face to face, two-way dialogue among citizens, and between citizens and government officials thereby encouraging individuals to consider the interests of others. While a two-way, face to face approach is not always possible or desirable, nevertheless governments and citizens could make greater efforts to move in this direction.

The two examples below illustrate how this might be done.

Our Mass Media Orientation

Professional television broadcasters feel that they already supply all the information the public is prepared to watch. They cite the low ratings of public affairs programs as proof that the general populace is just not interested in more news, information, and public affairs programming.

The problem, however, may not so much be the volume or frequency of information, as the kind that is available, and the one-directional flow of information. It may be true that there is already an oversupply of information in the mass media. However, this is information geared to satisfying the demands of a mass audience. What is needed are communications media that first, recognize the special interests of the community, and second, allow for a person to person, two-way flow of information.

There are signs that this need is partially being met, especially by the

print media. Special interest magazines, suburban newspapers, and the alternative or underground press are flourishing. At present, however, these options are not generally available through the electronic media. If, for example, one small segment of a city's population wishes to follow the full proceedings of a legislative committee on pollution, it usually can do so only through personal attendance.

And yet, new developments in communications technology may soon give us the capability to develop two-way networks on a specialized, rather than a mass basis. In an article in the *Economist* entitled "Connections" Brenda Maddox outlines basic trends in the development of technology.

*Before very long, information theory will have been brought to its logical conclusion in public communications; there will be a single unified network for all kinds of messages...separate systems for telephones, telegraph, television and data transmission will disappear. Information will flow through the network as on-off digital signals, and appear as pictures, sound or print according to the choice of those sending and receiving it.*²

The new communications technology will thus cease to be an arrangement of separate systems becoming instead a total, integrated, inter-dependent system utilizing a variety of media, and opening up a variety of new uses.

We then must consider the serious question of who should have responsibility for managing and controlling the development of the new technology. How can we ensure that our communications system develops in the best interests of the public? A serious effort is required to work out acceptable guidelines with the private communications sector for the growth and potential uses of a communications system. In this regard, the plans of federal agencies and other provincial governments also must be integrated before the trend of isolated decisions made by separate jurisdictions increases.

Similarly, there is a need for guidelines defining the rights of the private sector to regulate access to communications technology. For instance, it is now feasible to allow community groups to produce their own TV programs. This raises the question of how access should be regulated. Should, for example, the community being served have some control over the television facilities and should community use of facilities be financed by government?

2. Brenda Maddox, *The Economist*, Vol. 232 (August 9, 1969)

Social Survey Research

Governments traditionally have relied on elected representatives and employees in the field to provide feedback from citizens concerning government services. The variety and number of government programs, and the size and diversity of our population have made these traditional channels less effective, and new techniques now are being suggested. Presently in vogue is the social survey, which is styled along the lines of the Gallup Poll. It usually involves the analysis of statistical data retrieved from replies by individual citizens to questions asked by an enumerator. While decision-makers do require information on client reaction to government programs, there are several reasons why the social survey may not be the best means of accomplishing this.

First, we are beginning to learn that one reason government programs often fail is because they are designed to fit the perceptions of problems as seen by experts, rather than by those who actually experience the problem. In social surveys as well, the biases of the person who designed the questionnaire frequently show up in the questions asked, or more important, in the questions not asked.

One of the pressures cited for citizen participation in Section Two was that many people see government as remote, impersonal, large and complex. Social surveys may strengthen this impression by imposing yet another barrier to direct contact between citizens and government officials. In addition, they tend to emphasize the one-way flow of information. They do not encourage the individual to think about or take into account the interests of others.

Finally, the social survey technique does not allow for consideration of the unquantifiables, such as a pleasing environment and meaningful human relations. How can a questionnaire adequately foresee the myriad of social and environmental consequences of a government decision, let alone determine the relative importance of each in the minds of individual citizens? As well, is it not somehow inconsistent and ineffectual to use a technique which many perceive as impersonal to ask questions about an individual's feelings and emotions?

There are two alternative approaches which would appear to be more effective than the social survey technique.

The first is currently being explored in Ontario's Ministry of Transportation and Communications. Civil servants meet with small groups of citizens to discuss a relevant transportation problem. The conversation, which generally lasts several hours, is taped, summarized, and distributed to the general community for further comment. Additional groups come together to discuss the results. A final report is then published.

This approach stresses two-way flows of information among citizens and between citizens and governments officials on a face to face basis. Individuals are encouraged to think about their problems and to contribute suggestions. While it does not produce a set of statistics, such an approach gives some indication of the myriad of social consequences of a decision, and how intensely people feel about them.

A second approach, now being tried in the city of Winnipeg, gives groups of citizens communication resources, such as a portable video tape recorder camera to record their perceptions of a community problem. This is an excellent way of providing government personnel with unfiltered contact with client groups. In addition, it is a learning process which challenges the initiative of the people making the film.

Areas Requiring Immediate Attention

In this final section, we highlight three areas requiring immediate attention and study.

The Legislature

The Legislature was specifically excluded from the terms of reference of the C.O.G.P., and therefore we have made no suggestions concerning it. However, the Ontario Government's announcement in the recent Speech From the Throne to appoint a commission to review the functions and processes of the Legislature and the role of the private member should result in a much needed opportunity for discussion and study in this area.

From the perspective of this study, we propose several questions which this commission might wish to consider. The most fundamental is what should be the relationship between an elected representative and his or her constituents? Several of our suggestions, such as combining M.P.P.'s with local politicians, citizens, and civil servants on working committees to deal with local problems, point to directions in which this relationship might evolve.

A second major question is how can the procedures of the Legislature be changed so as to encourage more involvement by citizens? For example, could more use be made of parliamentary committees which have direct contact with affected citizens on a particular problem?

Design of Local Government

"Community control", or "neighbourhood government" are phrases often associated with citizen involvement. While we only have referred briefly to

this area, the design of local government obviously has an important bearing on opportunities for participation. The new Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs should be aware of this consideration during its future work.

However, our study suggests that small size in itself will not necessarily result in positive forms of participation. Negative kinds of participation could occur at the neighbourhood as well as at the municipal or provincial level. Neighbourhood governments, for example, would provide negative forms of participation if they relied exclusively on town meetings which normally involve too many people in one group for each individual's contribution to be meaningful.

Communications Technology

A major implication of our previous suggestions regarding an approach to communications was that, as part of its mandate, the Ministry of Transportation and Communications consider the role of communications technology in encouraging participation. Without government attention to this issue, it is possible that communications technology will develop in ways which promote undesirable forms of participation.

Section Five: Summary of major conclusions



The phenomenon giving rise to this study has been recent demands by people for more influence in, and understanding of, decisions which affect their lives.

Our aim in this paper has been to stimulate discussion both inside and outside government on the important issues surrounding citizen involvement in provincial government decision making.

First, we examined four significant characteristics of the phenomenon of citizen participation:

- its parallels with past movements to improve the common man's ability to share power with those who govern him
- its pervasiveness
- new attitudes toward authority and professionalism
- new linkages and relationships developing between governments and citizens.

We concluded that this phenomenon could not be interpreted as an increase in the number of traditional pressure groups, but that it represented a new kind of voluntary action to which governments were responding in novel ways.

Next, we suggested the following as our perceptions of the major pressures producing greater demands for participation:

- rising levels of education
- increasing size, complexity and pervasiveness of government
- the "narrow rationality" of institutional decision making
- the seeming inadequacy of traditional political processes
- the beginnings of what appears to be a major cultural shift
- the increasing rate of change
- the active response of government.

We concluded from our review of these pressures that they are intensifying; and that demands for participation by citizens are likely to increase in the future.

In the next section we posed the question: should governments encourage or discourage participation? After presenting both sides to the question, we concluded that:

- ♦ Governments should recognize that there are both “positive” and “negative” forms of participation.

The positive forms encourage

- individual learning and self-development
- sensitivity to the interests of others
- political equality
- effective implementation of decisions
- foreknowledge of the major costs and implications of a decision.

Positive forms discourage

- confrontation, win/lose situations
- manipulation.

- ♦ Governments should devote considerably more resources to planning and implementing ways of encouraging positive forms of participation.
- ♦ In that it is not yet possible to design an ultimate model for participation, any approach to implementation should be exploratory and tentative.

In the final section, we suggested ways of initiating positive forms of participation. These were our major conclusions.

- ♦ Successful experimentation in involving citizens in government decisions will depend primarily on the ability of civil servants and politicians within government, and many advocates of participation outside government, to try new roles and attitudes and to experiment with ideas which might run counter to some conventional notions of administrative theory.
- ♦ The fundamental organizational unit for implementing participation should be a collegial, face to face, problem-solving group. It should be large enough to include individuals with the perspectives and expertise to deal with the problem at hand, but small enough to ensure that each participant’s contribution would be substantial and meaningful. These groups would be made up of both government and non-government people and could be linked to other groups and organizations through common membership.
- ♦ While proceeding to develop new relationships and linkages with citizens, government should also attempt to make its own administrative procedures more participatory. Moreover, this policy should be followed by any organization hoping to participate in government decisions.



Appendix A

A Listing of the Authors and Titles of the Four Papers done for the
C.O.G.P. on Citizen Involvement

A Public Communication System

Lloyd Axworthy of the Institute of
Urban Studies, Winnipeg, Manitoba

*Gone Today and Here Tomorrow:
Issues Surrounding the Future
of Citizen Involvement*

Catherine Starrs and Gail Stewart of
The Public Policy Concern, Ottawa

*The Public Bureaucracy and the
Possibility of Citizen Involvement
in the Government of Ontario*

George Szablowski of York University,
Toronto.

*Participation and Liberal
Democratic Government*

Frederick C. Thayer of the University
of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

These papers are available from the Queen's Printer, Ferguson Block, Queen's Park,
Toronto, Ontario, for a charge of \$1.00 each, payable to the Treasurer of Ontario.



Appendix B

Participants at the Two Day Seminar on Citizen Involvement

Sponsored by the C.O.G.P.

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Lloyd Axworthy | Institute of Urban Studies, Winnipeg, Manitoba |
| Ed Brezina | Ministry of Transportation and Communications |
| Sam Clasky | Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs |
| David Cole | Ministry of Community and Social Services |
| John Graham | C.O.G.P. Central Staff |
| Peter Gundy | C.O.G.P. Central Staff |
| Dr. J.E. Hodgetts | Victoria University, Toronto |
| Neil Kotler | Darmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire |
| Dr. Larry Lynch | St. Michael's College, University of Toronto |
| Pat Michener | C.O.G.P. Central Staff |
| Don Richmond | Ontario Economic Council |
| Ken Sharratt | Ministry of Transportation and Communications |
| Catherine Starrs | The Public Policy Concern, Ottawa |
| Gail Stewart | The Public Policy Concern, Ottawa |
| George Szablowski | Department of Political Science, York University |

Dr. Frederick Thayer

University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania

Dick Weiler

C.O.G.P. Central Staff

Dr. Tay Wilson

Ministry of Transportation and
Communications

In addition to the above individuals, the authors of this paper talked to and exchanged ideas with many others, both within and outside the Ontario Public Service, on the topic of citizen involvement. To these people we express our sincere appreciation.

While the participants of the two day seminar did not represent the entire range of perspectives on this topic (for example, no one from the mass media was present), it is hoped that this paper is not the end but the beginning of a discussion process which will involve a much larger number of viewpoints.

